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THE
Nation Vindicated,
FROM THE
ASPERSIONS

Cast on it in a Late
PAMPHLET,
INTITLED,

*A Representation of the Present State of
Religion, with regard to the late excessive
Growth of Infidelity, Heresy and Profaneness,
as it pass'd the Lower House of Convocation.*

England, Ch. of Convocation

PART I.

*Say not thou, what is the Cause that the former Days
were better than these? For thou dost not enquire
wisely concerning this.*

Eccles. vii. 10.

L O N D O N;

Printed for A. Baldwin near the Oxford-Arms
in Warwick-Lane. M.DCC.XI.

T H E
Nation Vindicated, &c.

ALL who are not Enemys to the Church and Kingdom, must be pleas'd to see the falsity of a Representation expos'd, which lays a Load of Guilt on both, by affirming, that a *Deluge of Impiety and Licentiousness hath broke in upon us, and overspread the Face of this Church and Kingdom*; and the Representers themselves must be highly satisfy'd to have their own Representation disprov'd, since they say, *We can't without unspeakable Grief reflect on that Deluge, &c. and that the late excessive Growth of Infidelity, Heresy and Profaneness has brought Dishonour on our Holy Faith, on our Church and Nation.* To suppose otherwise, must be to suppose, that they are so far from lying under an unspeakable Grief, that they are pleas'd with having Dishonour brought on our Holy Faith, on our Church and Nation.

Can one engage in a better Cause, than when even those he writes against must not only wish him Success, but are bound, as they wou'd avoid the Imputation of Hypocrisy, the more he disproves and confutes them, the more to commend and applaud him?

A Paper, which labours to make the Nation appear black and odious, ought not in Charity to be suppos'd to have pass'd the Lower House of Convocation, since 'tis publish'd without any Authority, or any name besides that of *John Morphem*, for whom 'tis said to be printed; they sure cou'd not be guilty of so inconsistent a thing, as to frame a Representation against Printing without Authority, and yet publish their own without any: Nor can I well suppose, after what has been usually said by Ecclesiasticks against appealing to the *Mob*, that they wou'd chuse to make 'em Judges of the Disagreement between the two Houses concerning the *present State of Religion*; and therefore one should rather conclude, that the publishing this unauthoriz'd Paper as theirs was owing to some of their mortal Enemies, who took this Opportunity of playing them the most spiteful Trick imaginable. But since the World is made the Judg, it's not material how the Authors or Publishers of it are dignify'd or distinguish'd; every one has a Right to examine it.

The Method that the Clergy formerly took to get what power they pleas'd over the Consciences of the People, was, by representing all that differ'd from 'em, tho in matters merely speculative, which had no Influence on Practice, as guilty not only of wicked Opinions, but that those Opinions produc'd very wicked Practices, such as made the Age much more profligate than all which preceded it; and after having, in the most pathetick Terms, made a lamentable Description of the Iniquity of the Times, they declar'd, that in this sad State of Affairs they saw no way to prevent

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prevent the Growth of Infidelity, Heresy, Profaneness, &c. but by enlarging the Power of the Clergy.

And tho in all other things they chang'd frequently, sometimes *Arians*, sometimes *Anti-Arians*, &c. just as it serv'd their Interest ; and tho the more Power they got, the more Religion was alter'd for the worse ; yet they still continu'd their Cry for *more Power for the Church* ; and by their constant Din and Noise of the Increase of Irreligion for the want of it, they at last frighten'd the poor Laity out of their Senses, and brought 'em to believe that the Church cou'd never be out of Danger, as long as they presum'd to use their own Judgments in matters of Religion.

This gave the designing Ecclesiasticks an Opportunity to confound *Religion*, and to substitute in its place a *Superstition*, which puts all Power both in Heaven and Earth into their hands. And tho it be the highest Affront to God, as well as the greatest Injustice to Man, and is supported by the most inhuman and barbarous Methods that the Malice of Hell, or the Clergy cou'd contrive ; yet the credulous Laity did for many Ages in all Places, and do still in most, believe it a Suggestion of the Devil, if ever it enters into their Heads to question in the least the Truth of any thing their Priests dictate to 'em. And in those happy Places only, where this Holy Discipline prevails, *the Church is out of Danger*, and there's no Complaint of the Increase of *Infidelity*, tho that and *Priestcraft* go hand in hand, and the Unbelievers are there most numerous.

Had this Representation, futable to the nature of the Subject, and agreeable to that State of Grief the Representers pretend to lie under, been writ after a grave and serious manner, and asserted incontestable Facts only; and concluded with desiring the Magistrate to proceed with the utmost Severity against Immorality, or any Opinions, which, consistently with the Laws of Christianity, he has a right to punish; none shou'd more heartily applaud their Design, or more readily come into it than I.

But if one sees a Representation writ not only in a popular, loose, declaiming Stile, and all the Arts of Rhetorick us'd to paint the Church and Kingdom in the blackest Colours; and if all those odious things are made to be owing to the sacred Act of Toleration, and the not continuing that Restraint on the Press, which hinder'd any thing in Religion from being publish'd, except what two or three Ecclesiasticks should approve; and if not a few things in behalf of a blind Obedience to the Priests are insinuated, and the whole concludes with a Prayer for *more Power to be given to the Clergy, under the soft terms of restoring the Discipline of the Church, too much relax'd and decay'd, to its pristine Life and Vigour, and strengthening the ordinary Jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Courts, now too much restrain'd and enfeebled*: If, I say, this be the Case, one is insensibly led to suspect, that 'tis possible some may imagine there's now a happy Opportunity to recover all the Power their Predecessors lost, and that the same Methods which first gain'd it will now retrieve it.

Tho

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Tho Impiety and Immorality shou'd, since our happy Deliverance from Popery and Slavery, abound in the Nation more than formerly; yet if their Increase is not owing to the Act of Toleration, nor to the discontinuing the Restraint of the Press, there cou'd be no pretence for restraining the Press, or breaking in on the Toleration: Nor can there be any for giving more power to the Clergy, if they have now as much as in those Reigns, when, by their own Confession, the Nation was eminent for Purity of Faith and Sobriety of Manners; because then the Badness of the present times must be owing to some other Cause than want of Power in the Ecclesiasticks. And therefore the Representers, in order to gain their Point, very politickly affirm, ' That the Hypocrisy, Enthusiasm and Variety of wild and monstrous Errors, which abounded during the late Confusions, begat in the Minds of Men, too easily carry'd into Extremes, a disregard for the very Appearances of Religion, and ended in a Spirit of downright Libertinism and Profaneness, which has ever since too much prevail'd among us.' By which they wou'd have it thought, that the Times at least immediately preceding those Confusions, when there was no Toleration or Liberty of the Press, were free from these Evils.

And to skreen the Reigns of *the two Brethren*, which being nearer the Source of these Evils, were likelier to be more infected with them than those since the Revolution; they affirm, ' That the Spirit of downright Libertinism and Profaneness was check'd and kept under for a time by the legal Restraints laid on the Press, and

‘ and by the just Dread of Popery which hung
 ‘ over our Heads; but as soon as those Fears
 ‘ were remov’d, and those Restraints were taken
 ‘ off, it broke out with the greater Freedom and
 ‘ Violence.’

’Twou’d be impertinent to examine into the Reasons given for the late excessive Growth of Irreligion, when I do not allow there is any such Growth. Yet I can’t but observe, that ’tis not the tolerating of different Opinions, however wild and monstrous they may be thought by their Adversaries, which begets in Mens Minds a disregard to the very Appearances of Religion, and ends in a Spirit of Libertinism and Profaneness; because in *Holland*, where there’s in a manner a universal Liberty of Conscience, we see no such effect, nor was there any such in the Primitive Times of Christianity, when there were more, and more monstrous Opinions than are now any where. Nor did this Consequence follow from a Toleration at any other Time and Place, even tho’ That as part of the Law of Nature universally prevail’d for thousands of years: On the contrary, the Presumption is, that they have no Religion or Conscience themselves, who are for forcing others to dissemble their Religion, and act contrary to their Consciences. And it’s very strange, that tolerating different Opinions shou’d make only Churchmen Atheists, Deists, Infidels, Scepticks, &c. I say Churchmen, since I do not find by this Representation that any such Monsters are to be found among the Dissenters, who have the benefit of the Toleration; nor were they the Men, who in *Charles II*’s time were suppos’d to have a Disregard to the very Appearances

of Religion, or to be possess'd with a Spirit of downright Libertinism and Profaneness. It's very surprizing that the Toleration in the late times shou'd have this effect on those who hated those Times, and the Toleration they allow'd.

This I think is sufficient to prove, that shou'd there be an Increase of Irreligion and Immorality in the Nation, 'tis owing to other Causes than what are assign'd by the Representers.

Who in saying that our Church and Kingdom were *eminent in former times for Purity of Faith and Sobriety of Manners*, if they do not mean the times of Popery, must mean those of the Reformation; and they became such by depriving the Clergy of the Power, which, on pretence of preserving the Purity of Faith, and Sobriety of Manners, they exercis'd over the Consciences of the People. And our pious Legislators, who then were, by dear-bought Experience, convine'd how fatal it was to Religion as well as to Government to trust the Clergy with any independent Power, subjected all their Proceedings to be regulated by the Lay-Courts, and allow'd of an Appeal to the Sovereign in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Causes whatever.

And our excellent Princes King *Edward* and Queen *Elizabeth*, thought they cou'd not secure the Purity of Religion, and Sobriety of Manners, but by keeping a strict hand over the Clergy: and tho in after-times, when they were found the fittest Tools to promote the arbitrary Designs of the Court, they were grown in great Favour, and had several Powers and Privileges restor'd, which they had been

depriv'd of at the Reformation ; yet I suppose none will maintain they were then as godly or virtuous as before, or deny that they did not as much decline in Piety and Goodness, as they did advance in Interest and Power : and consequently every one must see, that there's no likelihood that these times will be mended by giving the Clergy more Power.

These things being premis'd, I doubt not, by the Divine Assistance, to do Justice to the *Church and Kingdom* ; and prove,

1st. That the Publishers of this Paper, instead of charging both with a prodigious Increase in Impiety and Licentiousness, had reason to bless God that they are, since the Revolution, much amended, even in those things which are on purpose mention'd, to shew how much worse they are since that time, than they were in the preceding Reigns.

2^{ly}. In considering the Account they give of the various Steps which they say have been taken to infect the Minds of the People with *Atheism, Deism, Heresy, and every monstrous and destructive Error*, I shall shew that there never was so disingenuous, so unfair, so partial a Paper offer'd to the Publick ; and that there's scarce a Paragraph relating to that Matter, but what is false either in whole or in part ; and that there's nothing more groundless than what the Representation asserts concerning a Combination to carry on the Cause of Infidelity ; and that whilst it complains of the Increase of Popery, it advances such Notions, as, were they true, wou'd oblige the Nation to return to the Church of *Rome* ; and that while it condemns other Writings for expo-

sing the Creeds, is so unfortunate as to fall under the same Fault it self. And in proving all this, I shall do justice to the Lower-House of Convocation: for then sure every one will be convinc'd they cou'd not be the Compilers of such a Representation.

3dly. I shall conclude with proving, that they have omitted the chief Cause of Atheism, Deism, Heresy, and of every pernicious and destructive Error: and that 'tis next to a Miracle, that the Laity, considering the Conduct of too many of their Guides, are so good and vertuous as they are at present.

I. To shew how Impiety and Licentiousness have of late overspread the Face of the Church and Kingdom, the Representers say: 'Seldom has greater Vigilance been us'd by the Civil Magistrate to secure a religious Observance of the Lord's Day; neither has it, among the meaner sort, prov'd unsuccessful: however it has not banish'd Excess and Luxury at such times from the Tables of the Great, nor hinder'd 'em from wasting those Sacred Hours in Play and vain Amusements.'

In that part of the Kingdom call'd *North-Britain*, there is no manner of ground for this Reflection, the Sabbath being religiously observ'd there both by great and small. And as for *South-Britain*, the Clergy in particular ought to bless God, that they are not now, as in the Reigns of *Ja*—I. and *Ch*—I. oblig'd to read in the Church an impious and abominable Book of Sports, for the Profanation of the Lord's-Day.

These Representers, whatever they pretend, can't but think that things are well-man-

ded, when by the Vigilance of the Magistrate, a religious Observation of God's Day is among the meaner sort successfully secur'd, if compar'd with those times when the Magistrate upheld and encourag'd the meaner sort (and the better wanted no Encouragement) in the Profanation of the Holy Sabbath.

One can't look back without Horror and Detestation on those wicked times, when it was not only held lawful to profane God's Holy Day; but the sober, diligent, painful and godly Ministers of the Church of *England* were represented as puritanical and factious; and were, by *Laud* and other Court-Bishops, depriv'd of their Livings for not reading that execrable Proclamation for profaning that Holy Day, even at the same time when they were oblig'd to read the Commandment for keeping it holy.

It was not long after K. J — came to *England*, that he was advis'd, the better to change the Sobriety of Manners, for which the Nation till that time was so eminent, to publish that abominable Proclamation for encouraging *Morris-Dancing*, *May-Games*, *Whitson-Ales*, and other Sports on the Lord's Day. And it had too great Success, since Impiety and Immorality soon spread themselves over the Face of the Nation, tho they did not grow then to such a Height as in his Son's Reign, when *Laud* and the Court-Bishops, among the other Methods they took for further debauching the People, turn'd out on the most frivolous Pretences, all the Ministers that wou'd not prostitute their Consciences. And that there might not be a Clergyman of any Conscience in *Scotland*, they were all oblig'd,

by Canons impos'd on 'em contrary to all Law, to swear to submit and pay all Obedience to a Liturgy before they knew what it contain'd, that not being publish'd till a Year after, or thereabout.

Clarendon
don F
Vol. I
p. 85.

And that the *English* Clergy might not have any more Conscience than those of *Scotland*, they were bound by the Canons of 40 to swear to they knew not what, to an Ecclesiastical Government of &c. The Bishops who govern'd at that time knowing very well, that if the Clergy of both Nations cou'd be brought to swear to they knew not what, they cou'd after that with a very ill Grace pretend Conscience for refusing to comply with any of their Popish and Illegal Impositions.

The Court, upon the Restoration of Ch— II. by their Example, encourag'd the wasting in Play and vain Amusements, those Sacred Hours, which during the late times were religiously observ'd; and their Example had too great an effect both on small and great: but 'tis notoriously false, that since the Revolution, the Great (which supposes a Majority of 'em) spend those sacred Hours in Play, or any such vain Amusements; and if any of that Body have done so (which ought not to be believ'd without better Authority) it is in all probability owing to the Veneration they are taught, by High-Church Priests, to have for those Divines who so impiously encourag'd the Profanation of the Holy Sabbath, and have writ so many profane Treatises against the Morality of that Day.

of the Lord's-Day, that no High-Churchman for the future will think it Merit enough to drink and swear lustily for the Church, without regarding the Day, or frequenting the Church, lest it shou'd give him the Character of being fanatically inclin'd; and that we shall not have any Lords and Commoners insult a City-Constable for disturbing 'em at a Tavern on a *Sunday* Night; or any look'd on as a Pillar of the Church, who thank'd God he had not been at Church in Seven Years time, because the Clergy had, as he said, preach'd all the Points of the Compass round.

5. 9.

To prove the Badness of these Times, beyond what they were in former Reigns, the Representers say, ' The Frequency of Oaths ' and Imprecations, the manifest Growth of ' Immorality and Profaneness, have made ' new Laws, new Edicts necessary to restrain ' these Enormitys, which yet have not been ' effectually restrain'd by 'em.'

The Laws made since the Revolution for the Restraint of these Evils do not shew, that these prevail'd now more than formerly, but a pious Resolution in the Legislators to restrain, as far as the Pravity of Human Nature will permit, all Immorality. And God be thank'd that the Revolution and Reformation of Manners began together, and that the latter has been carry'd on to so great a height by Men of Revolution Principles, notwithstanding the Representers say, ' That by reason of the Confusions and Disorders which ' usually attend great Changes, the Reins of ' Government were unavoidably slacken'd.'

ventur'd to reflect on the Times since the Revolution, if they thought that Men, instead of having an implicit Faith in this Representation, wou'd have compar'd these Times with those of *Ch*— I. or *Ch*— II.

If the Greatness of Immorality and Wickedness is to be measur'd by their Extensiveness, and they are most immoral and wicked who injure and oppress the most; what shall we think of the Reign of *Ch*— I. when by the Account of the best Authors, we find the People complaining of such a prodigious number of insupportable Oppressions more and greater than were in any Reign, and perhaps in all from the Conquest to that time?

One can't frame a Picture of a more oppressive, and consequently of a more wicked Court, than when Men, because they wou'd not pay into the Exchequer, by way of Loan, what Mony the King pleas'd, were in danger of being hurry'd from one end of the Land to the other, and there kept in strict durance till they comply'd: after this there's no need of mentioning how by Ship-Mony and other Unparliamentary Taxes, they robb'd and spoil'd the Nation.

But because even that Reign is prefer'd to those since the Revolution, I shall mention a Passage from my Lord *Clarendon*, by which the Reader may frame an Idea of the Happiness of those times. This celebrated Historian says, *Hist. V*
 ' That Supplemental Acts of State were made I. p. 5
 ' to supply Defects of Laws; so Tunnage and ss.
 ' Poundage, and other Dutys on Merchandises, were collected by Order of the Council-Board, which had been positively refus'd to be settled by Act of Parliament: and now
 ' greater

• greater Impositions were laid on Trade, ob-
 •solete Laws were reviv'd and rigorously exe-
 •cuted; no less unjust Projects of all kinds; ma-
 •ny ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grie-
 •vous, were set on foot. And the Council-
 •Chamber and Star-Chamber held for honou-
 •rable that which pleas'd, and for just that
 •which profited: and being the same Persons
 •in several Rooms, grew both Courts of
 •Law to determine Right, and Courts of
 •Revenue to bring Money into the Treasury:
 •The Council-Table, by Proclamation, en-
 •joining to the People what was not enjoin'd
 •by Law, and prohibiting what was not pro-
 •hibited; and the Star-Chamber censuring the
 •Breach of those Proclamations by very large
 •Fines and Imprisonments. And there were
 •very few Persons of Quality who had not suf-
 •fer'd or been perplex'd by the Weight and
 •Fear of these Judgments and Censures: and no
 •Man could hope to be longer free from the
 •Inquisition of that Court (*viz.* Star-Chamber)
 •than he resolv'd to submit to extraordinary
 •Courses.' And it was the same with rela-
 •tion to the Ecclesiastical Courts, where no
 •Man, tho' ever so good a Churchman, was
 •secur'd from Ruin, if he did not resolve to
 •submit to new and illegal Measures.

5.P. 22.

id. Vol.
 I. p. 85.

And it was chiefly owing to the Clergy,
 that the Reign of that Prince was stain'd with
 so many Acts of Cruelty and Oppression, and
 so many direct Breaches of the Coronation-
 Oath; since they made it their Business to
 wrest the Word of God, to prove that our
 Kings were not bound by humane Laws, as
 having an absolute and unlimited Power, by
 Divine Right, over the Propertys and Lives
 of the People.

I know not who were guilty of the greatest Crime, they who *sacrilegiously* perverted the Meaning of the Holy Scripture to so wicked a Purpose; or, they who made taking up Arms against that Prince, a greater Crime than *Lucifer's* Rebellion against God Almighty; and in several Cases gave to that King, on the account of his Sufferings, the Preference to our Blessed Saviour himself.

It would be endless to shew, what Enemies the Priests in that Reign were to the Publick, and how in the cruel and barbarous Proceedings of the High Commission-Court and Star-Chamber they always were, upon any Difference, on the severest side: and therefore I shall refer the Reader to the Speech of a zealous Churchman, the great Lord *Falkland*, for their Character.

Rushw.
Fol. Vol
IV. p.
184.

When the High-Church Clergy acted after such a manner, 'tis no wonder that those who were wholly govern'd by 'em arriv'd to such a Pitch of Impiety and Immorality, and had no regard to the very Appearances of Religion; and without considering under whose Conduct the Cavaliers were, the Storys of their Profaneness and Debauchery wou'd be incredible: and yet these Times, when the Nation was in such danger of falling into Popery and Slavery, must be prefer'd to those that secur'd us from both.

Nay, it seems these Times must be worse even than those of *Ch* — II. tho that Court, which *had nothing so much at heart* as introducing Popery and Slavery, thought there was no such effectual way of doing it, as by debauching the Morals of the Nation: and they succeeded so far in it, by the fit Instruments they employ'd

both in Church and State, for that purpose, that nothing was scarce to be seen but an open Profession of Leudness and Profaneness, a Dissolution of all good Manners, and a Ridiculing all that was serious, either sacred or civil; at which the Prince, as 'tis said, had a very unhappy Talent.

Religion then was so much discourag'd, that he who was but suspected of it, or put on the Face of Sobriety, was look'd on as an Enemy to the Church and State: nothing recommended like Debauchery, especially that fashionable one of neglecting the Wife, and spending the Estate on Misses; Creatures then so much in vogue, that they who knew how to make their Court best, must at least pretend to keep 'em.

If any can think (upon the Authority of the Representers) that there has been since the Revolution, for want of Churches, a *gradual Defection from Piety and Virtue to irreligious Ignorance, and all manner of loose and licentious living*: I desire him to examine (tho the Suburbs are so much greater than they were in *Ch*— It's time, and consequently so many more without Churches) whether there are now so many Night-frays, so many drunken Rencontres, or such heroick Exploits in attacking the Watch, breaking Windows, those of Churches not excepted, as there were in *Ch*— It's time; or whether now there are not, tho numbers, by reason of the War, are daily reduc'd to the utmost Straits, fewer Murders, Robberys, House-breakings, or other Villanys committed in the Suburbs.

He who compares the Times will be surpriz'd at the difference, and see how notoriously

riously false it is, that since the Revolution there has been a gradual Defection from Piety and Virtue, to all manner of loose and licentious Living.

Foreigners are surpriz'd at the wonderful good Order and Regulation they find in this great Town, and are forc'd to confess, that in other great Citys, even where they have a prodigious number of Churches and Priests, People are so far from being kept in such good Order, that there is no venturing abroad at Night without the utmost Hazard. And therefore, I think, the People of this Metropolis have all the reason in the World to complain of these Representers, who while Foreigners do 'em Justice, scruple not to treat 'em after this manner.

If the People in this grand City, are now so much better than they were in *Ch*— It's Time, how good will they be when they are bless'd with Fifty Churches more, and consequently with about One Hundred and Fifty Ministers more to teach 'em, by their Example, as well as preaching, the Practice of Moderation, Charity, mutual Forbearance, and all other Christian Virtues, which tend to make a People, notwithstanding unavoidable Differences in their Opinion, happy? This I confess, can only be guess'd at, by seeing in what a bless'd Condition those Nations are, where the Clergy abound.

I am so charitable as to think, that not only the Laity, but the Clergy too, are better since the Revolution than in King *Ch*— It's Time, especially if that Character of 'em

(publish'd by *Lesley*, and taken, as he affirms,
 out of the Writings of a Right Reverend
 Church Historian) be true: ' The greatest
 an- Part ' part of the Clergy, says this Author, are
 p. 22. ' the worst-natur'd, the fiercest, indiscreetest,
 ' and most persecuting sort of People that
 ' are in the Nation. There is a sort of 'em
 ' do so aspire to Preferments, that there is
 ' nothing so mean and indecent that they will
 ' not do to compass it: and when they have
 ' got into Preferments, they take no Care
 ' neither of themselves nor of their Flocks,
 ' but do generally neglect their Parishes; if
 ' they are rich enough, they hire some pitiful
 ' Curate at as low a Price as they can, and
 ' turn all over to him; or if their Income
 ' will not bear it out, that then they perform
 ' the publick Offices in the slightest manner
 ' they can, but take no care of the People
 ' in the way of private Instruction or Ad-
 ' monition, and so do nothing to justify the
 ' Character of Pastors, or Watchmen that
 ' feed the Souls of their People, or watch o-
 ' ver 'em. And they allow themselves in
 ' many indecent Libertys of going to Ta-
 ' verns and Ale-Houses, and of railing scur-
 ' rilously against all that differ from 'em:
 ' and they cherish the profanest of the Peo-
 ' ple, if they will but come to Church, and
 ' rail with 'em against the Dissenters, and are
 ' implacably set on the Ruin of all that sepa-
 ' rate from 'em, if the Course of their Lives
 ' were otherwise ever so good and unblama-
 ' ble. In a word, many of 'em are a Re-
 ' proach to Christianity, and to their Pro-
 ' fession, and are now perhaps one of the
 ' most

‘ most corrupt Bodys of Men in the Nation.’

May not one conclude there are no such now-a-days; since these holy Representers do not mention, that the Conduct of the Ecclesiasticks is in the least any occasion of the Infidelity and Immorality which they say of late prevails in the Nation, but lay it all to the Laity? to whom I must do that Justice as to say, That tho it cou’d not be expected that many of those who were fix’d in Licentiousness and Immorality, by living under such a Court and such a Clergy, shou’d be mended by the Revolution; yet of those who have been educated since that happy Time there are as great a number of sober and vertuous young Gentlemen as ever the Nation cou’d brag of.

For my part, I have so profound a respect for the Clergy since the Revolution, that I think, they are in many things to be prefer’d to those who liv’d in the earliest Times we have any account of in our *British* Historys.

The first Writer we have is *Gildas*, of whom *William of Malmsbury* * says, ‘ That ’tis to him the *Britains* owe their being taken notice of by other Nations.’ And this *Gildas*, who liv’d in the beginning of the Fifth Century, was not only a Clergy-man, but a very wise Man, as knowing Men and Manners perfectly well; and therefore was surnam’d *Gildas the Wise*, who † complements his Brethren after this manner:

* *Gildas Historicus*, cui *Britanni* debent si quid notitiæ inter cæteras gentes habent, *Antiquit. Glasc.* p. 296.

† *Gildæ Epist.* p. 23. *Gale’s Britannicæ Scriptores.*

‘ *Britain* has Priests, but they have no
 ‘ Sense; a great Body of Clergy, but immo-
 ‘ dest and leud Clerks, who are a Pack of
 ‘ Cheats; Shepherds, as they are call’d, but
 ‘ more properly Wolves to devour Souls, be-
 ‘ cause they mind not the Good of the Peo-
 ‘ ple committed to their Charge, but their
 ‘ own Bellys only; possessing the Churches,
 ‘ but go to ’em only for the sake of what is
 ‘ to be got by ’em; teaching the Laity, but
 ‘ ’tis in teaching ’em vile Examples, by their
 ‘ own Practice of Vice and Immorality; fel-
 ‘ dom sacrificing, but never standing with
 ‘ pure Hearts before the Altar; not correc-
 ‘ ting the People for their Sins, because of
 ‘ their own Guilt; despising the Precepts of
 ‘ Christ, and only taking care to satisfy their
 ‘ own Lusts — hating Truth, and standing
 ‘ by one another in their opposition to it;
 ‘ looking on the poor just Men as so many
 ‘ Vipers; respecting the wicked rich Men as
 ‘ so many Angels, without any Shame; prea-
 ‘ ching Charity to others, but not giving
 ‘ a Farthing themselves; concealing all other
 ‘ Sins of the People, except what they think
 ‘ committed against themselves; those they
 ‘ aggravate as if done against Christ; tur-
 ‘ ning their Mothers and Sisters out of their
 ‘ Houses, and taking other Women to be
 ‘ familiar with; aiming more at Ecclesiastical
 ‘ Power, than at the Kingdom of Heaven.’ —

And after the same Strain he treats ’em for
 a good number of Pages together, and then
 he addresses himself to the Laity after this
 manner — ‘ What do you, O unhappy
 ‘ People, expect from such Belly-Beasts? Do
 ‘ you think to have your Manners amended
 ‘ by

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‘ by those who, instead of applying their
‘ Minds to what is good, do, according to
‘ the Reproof of the Prophet *Jeremias*, wea-
‘ ry themselves to commit Iniquity? Do you
‘ think to be illuminated by such Eyes which
‘ are intent only upon what leads to Vice, that
‘ is, to the Gates of Hell? If you do not avoid
‘ these Priests, according to the Words of
‘ our Saviour, as you wou’d the ravenous
‘ Wolves of *Arabia*, or as *Lot* did the Shower
‘ of Brimstone when he fled from *Sodom*; be-
‘ ing led blindfold by the blind, you will fall
‘ into the Pit of Hell.’

Had *Gildas*’s Priests drawn up a Represent-
ation of the State of Religion, no doubt
they wou’d have said, that it was with un-
speakable Grief they complain’d of the late
excessive Growth of Irreligion; and wou’d
have charg’d it all on *Gildas*, and such who
labour’d to prevent the People from being
blindly led by such blind and wicked Guides;
and then declar’d, that they saw no way to
put a Stop to it, but by restoring the Dis-
cipline of the Church, and strengthening the
Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts, &c.

One Article by which the Representers
wou’d prove, that Licentiousness and Profane-
ness had overspread the Face of the Church and
Kingdom, is, ‘ That the solemn Fasts and Hu-
‘ miliations of the Church have been made mat-
‘ ters of Sport to leud and godless Men, who
‘ have taken pleasure in ridiculing ’em, and
‘ affronting the Authority by which they were
‘ appointed.’

I can’t see what leud and godless Men this
can affect, except High-Church: those of ’em
especially, who have not taken the Oaths,
make it their business to ridicule the observing

these Days; and they affront the Civil Authority by which they are appointed, by supposing, that setting apart either of Feast or Fast-Days, does, by Divine Right, belong to the Clergy.* This likewise affects those noisy and impudent Priests, as the Bishop of Sarum † calls 'em, who preach, speak, and act one way, and pray and swear another.

The Generality of the Clergy cou'd have no very great regard for the Days, either of Humiliation or Thanksgiving, which have been appointed since the Revolution; if what Dr. Hicks, or who else is the Author of a Pamphlet, entitul'd, *Discourses upon Dr. Burnet* .Pref. and Dr. Tillotson, &c. says be true: ' God

' be thank'd, says he, the main Body of our
' Clergy help to support their old Brethren,
' who cou'd not overcome the Difficultys of the
' new Oath, and honour them in their Hearts
' as Men of Principles, who are most faithful to
' the *English* Monarchy, zealous for the Honour
' and Prosperity of the Royal Family, and
' the Catholick Doctrines, and Rights of the
' Church: Nay, I have reason to hope, that
' they wait for the Times of *healing and re-*
' *freshing*, when they may come again to Com-
' munion with them under their Rightful Bi-
' shops, who never did betray their Order,
' or act in contradiction to the Doctrines of
' the Church. I know in some measure what
' I say to be true; and if any Man doubt of it,
' let him consider what *Inclinations* the Convo-
' cation discover'd at its first sitting down.'

If any one shou'd take the same Liberty, as the Representers do, in asserting things as true, merely on report; how many Reverend Divines might one reckon up in a certain University, who while they had Bonfires *without*

for King *William*, were drinking King *James's* Health *within*. But what cou'd parallel the Impudence of that Preacher, who on a Day set apart to give God Thanks for our grand Deliverance, chose this Text, *Sufficient for the Day is the Evil thereof?* by which he shew'd as great Ingratitude to the King who prefer'd him, as he has since Injustice to the Subject whom he cheated of several Thousands, which he consum'd in Gaming and other Vices.

Another Head, by which the Representers wou'd lay a load of Infamy on the Church and Nation, is by saying, *There have been horrid Outrages committed by loose and disorderly Persons in the House of God.*

They can't, I believe, produce two Instances of this nature since the Revolution; or if they cou'd produce double the number in so long a time, they are too few any way to contribute towards proving, that Licentiousness and Profaneness have overspread the face of Church and Kingdom. I cou'd in so long a space of time produce as many Instances of Priests being drunk when they went to preach or give the Sacrament, or of their reeling home to College-Prayers in the Universitys, so over-charg'd with Drink, that it overflow'd on their bowing low at the Name of Jesus: nay further, of Priests that have been hang'd for notorious Crimes. But if I shou'd produce as many Instances of this, as they cou'd of the other, they themselves wou'd think it highly uncharitable from thence to conclude, that this any way proves, that Licentiousness and Profaneness have overspread the face of the *Clergy* or *Universitys*: and methinks the *Church* and *Kingdom* ought to have the same Justice done 'em.

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When these Gentlemen were considering this Head, 'tis strange how a late Instance cou'd escape 'em, not only of horrid Outrages committed in the House of God, but Houses of God pull'd down by thousands of loose disorderly Fellows, and the most Holy Bible condemn'd to the Flames. But let me tell such as seem'd to triumph, that the Law was not executed on those condemn'd for this High-Treason, That the same Principle and Spirit that burns Meeting-Houses will burn Churches, nay raise *Smithfield-Fires*.

9. This Representation saying, ' That the
' Debauches of licentious Men have been indulg'd to such an height as to end in all
' manner of Blasphemy and Profaneness; and
' that unnatural and abominable Impuritics,
' not to be nam'd among Christians, have
' been publickly practis'd; and that foreign
' Vices have, by little and little, spread themselves thro the several Ranks of Men: ' shou'd make us not easily believe that this came from the Lower-House of Convocation. For is it possible for such loyal Persons to suppose so ill of the Government, as that it indulges Men in such monstrous Debauches, or that it permits unnatural and abominable Impuritics, not to be nam'd among Christians, to be publickly practis'd?

net's
posit.
p.
Were there now in the Office of consecrating Bishops and Priests, Examinations, as formerly, concerning the unnatural Sin of lying with Man or Beast; or did Bishops live in this unnatural Sin with Bishops, as *St. Bernard*, in a Sermon preach'd before the Clergy of *France*, says they did in his Time, there wou'd be ground for this Charge: but 'tis barbarous to make this Reflection on the Times since the

Revolution, when we have had nothing like a Lord *Audley* hang'd for committing Sodomy with his Page, or like a Bishop of *Waterford* for having to do with a Sow ; but only one Attempt, which was punish'd with the utmost Severity. They who falsely represent People acting worse than Beasts, will be sure to treat 'em so, if ever they get 'em into their Power. I think the Writer of the History of *England*, if he had consulted the Honour of the Nation, as well as of the Royal Family, wou'd not have said, (not to blot this Paper with the Baudy in some of King *James's* Letters) That such was the Familiarity between him and *Buckingham*, that in one of them he says, he wears * *Stenay's* Picture under his Waistcoat next his Heart ; and in another, he bids him hasten to him, that his white Teeth may shine upon him.

P. 6

Can any, who has a Drop of *English* Blood in his Veins, or is the least concern'd for the Honour of his Country, avoid being fir'd with Indignation to see it so falsely aspers'd ? If the Guardians of the Nation's Honour tamely suffer themselves, as well as those they represent, to be thus grossly abus'd ; how will the Enemies of our Church and Constitution, insult the Revolution, and cry, That in the Opinion of the Representatives of the Clergy (for they will be sure to father this Representation on them) it was fatal to remove the Fears of Popery, since they declare, that *The Spirit of downright Libertinism and Profaneness was check'd*

* Note, that *Stenay* is *Stephen* in Scotch, by which Name the King usually call'd the Duke, because he suppos'd his Face, like *St. Stephen's* at his Martyrdom, shin'd as an Angel's.

and kept under by the legal Restraint of the Press, and by the just Dread of Popery which hung over our Heads; but that the World may now see how, for want of those two, unnatural Lusts, and all manner of Impiety and Licentiousness, prevail over the face of their Church and Kingdom; insomuch that the Clergy are forc'd to call again for the Restraint of the Press, tho they suppose, that Restraint and the just Dread of Popery go hand in hand. And they no doubt will add, that if the bare Apprehension of Popery did so much good, that it cou'd, when join'd with the Restraint of the Press, check and keep under the Spirit of downright Libertinism and Profaneness; what must Popery it self do, when join'd to a Restraint of the Press and of the Toleration?

What can an *English* Protestant say in defence of the Revolution, when this Representation is every moment cast in his Teeth, and he is told, that from thence he may see the bless'd Effects of the so much boasted Deliverance from Popery and Slavery?

Can it be doubted, but that the Pretender, the next time he attempts a Descent, will tack the best part of this Representation to his Declaration, and say he is oblig'd by the Principles of his Religion to come heartily into all those Methods that were us'd in the Reigns before the Revolution, to check and keep under the Spirit of downright Libertinism and Profaneness, as well as to encrease the Power and Authority of the Clergy?

P. 14.

‘ The Licentiousness of the Stage, say the
 ‘ Representers, is another Fountain from
 ‘ whence the present Corruption of Religion
 ‘ and Morality have flown.’ But if they were
 inclin'd to do Justice to the present Times

they ought to thank God, that it is not now highly criminal to complain of the Licentiousness of the Stage, as they very well know it was in the Reign of *Ch— I.* when ‘ *Mr. Prynne*, Rush
 ‘ for writing against the Stage, tho his Book Vol.
 ‘ was full of Quotations from the Fathers, p. 22
 ‘ and licens’d by Archbishop *Abbot*’s Chaplain, 222.
 ‘ was committed to the Tower without Bail
 ‘ or Mainprize for a Year, not so much as
 ‘ his Counsel admitted to him, nor Time convenient
 ‘ allow’d for examining his Witnesses;
 ‘ his Book condemn’d to be burnt by the Hang-
 ‘ man, and the Author degraded, expel’d the
 ‘ University of *Oxford* and *Lincolns-Inn*, made
 ‘ for ever incapable of exercising his Profession
 ‘ of the Law, set twice in the Pillory, and
 ‘ each time lost an Ear, then fin’d 5000*l.* and
 ‘ condemn’d to perpetual Imprisonment.’

‘ *Prynne*’s Book was, as a Reverend Divine
 ‘ observes, the more provoking, because the
 ‘ Court was extremely addicted to Plays; the
 ‘ Queen so fond of ’em, that she did not scruple
 ‘ to act a part in her own Royal Person :
 ‘ and there being in the Table of *Prynne*’s Book
 ‘ this Reference, *Women Actors notorious Whores*, Hist.
 ‘ it was constru’d by an *Innuendo* to reflect Vol.
 ‘ on the Queen. Bishop *Laud* was the Abet- p. 6
 ‘ tor of this Prosecution, by shewing *Prynne*’s
 ‘ Book to the King, and pointing out the
 ‘ offensive part of it, and by employing his
 ‘ Chaplain *Heylin* to pick out all those Passages
 ‘ to which he cou’d give the severest
 ‘ Turns, and by carrying those Notes to the
 ‘ Attorney-General, and urging him earnestly
 ‘ to proceed against the Author.’ When a
 ‘ Man, infinitely proud, shall throw off all regard
 ‘ to the Dignity of his Post to act thus,
 ‘ none can doubt of his Zeal for the Cause of

Immorality : And I think I may venture to affirm, that this Bishop, and those who cry'd him up, have done more towards debauching the Principles and Morals of the Nation, than all the World besides.

Tho there were no Plays during the Exile of *Charles II.* yet as soon as he was restor'd, the Players had their Restoration also ; and that Prince too did the Stage the Honour to take a common Actress to his Royal Bed : for having so vitiated a Taste, as to relish nothing except it was very leud and gross, he encourag'd the most immoral Plays. And tho the Nation was by the Poet-Laureat, and other Favourite Writers, stock'd with abundance of such Plays, yet we find no Representation, or Complaint made of it.

Thus things stood till the Revolution, and then our blessed Deliverer was so far from following the Example of his Predecessors, that he never went to the Playhouse : and tho it was not easy to give an immediate Check to the prevailing Humour for leud Plays, which in the late Reigns were industriously cultivated ; yet the Players have been several times prosecuted for unjustifiable Expressions, and the Stage is much reform'd.

The Playhouses can't well be put down, without driving the Youth, whose time wou'd lie on their hands, into private Debauchery, or else causing them, when sour'd for want of this publick Diversion, to cabal and plot against the Government : which seems to have been the Design of that Nonjuror, who was not for reforming, but destroying the Stage, and therefore gave many a leud turn to Expressions which they wou'd not naturally bear ; and if the Players cou'd not match him

with immoral Sayings, it was because they were not so well read in High-Church Sermons, as he was in Plays.

Far be it from me to say, that it looks as if the Representers, tho they wanted matter, were glad to take hold of any occasion to expose the Nation ; and therefore spent a whole Paragraph on a loose Expression or two in a Prologue at the opening of the Playhouse in the *Haymarket*. I think, with submission, that a Pamphlet (that is address'd to the Clergy of the Church of *England*, and suppos'd to be written by a Divine, not to say a Convocation-man) which, among a number of scandalous Reflections on the Governors of the Church, says, *It was expected that some of the Address R——t R——d shou'd offer themselves to assist the Clergy in their Pontificalibus at the opening of the new Church in the Haymarket*, shou'd have no more escap'd Censure than that Prologue, especially in a Representation that heavily complains that the Clergy are not treated with sufficient Respect. P. 10.

The Representers, that their Complaint of the Army may make the deeper Impression, put on a melancholy Air, and say, ' We can't but P. 15.
' lament that foreign Vices, too easily learnt
' in the Camp, have from thence spread
' themselves by little and little thro the several Ranks of Men at home, and occasion'd a
' visible Increase of Luxury, Libertinism and
' Profaneness ; false Notions of Honour have
' made that reputable, which the Religion of
' Christ utterly condemns, meaning Duelling."

By this Description one wou'd imagine that Duelling was one of those foreign Vices with which the Army had infected the several Ranks of Men at home ; tho 'tis notorious there was

more of it in *Charles II's* peaceable Reign, than even since we have been forc'd, by that Prince's contributing so much to the Power of *France*, to maintain numerous Armies: Nay perhaps there was then more tilting about Wenches, than there has been since upon all Pretences whatsoever.

And 'tis so far from being true, as these Gentlemen, to shew their kindness to the Army, represent, that the whole Nation, no sort of Men excepted, have been debauch'd by their means into foreign Vices; that not only in the Town, as I have already shewn, but in the Country too, the homebred *English* Vices are in a great measure left off, and all sorts of Men (one perhaps excepted) are more sober, moral and virtuous than they were formerly: And this is in a great measure owing, among the bulk of the People, to the War; which has put them under a necessity of not keeping so many Holidays as formerly, which then serv'd as so many Incentives to Idleness and Debauchery.

When I reflect on the many Fatigues and Hardships, which Men grown old in their Country's Service have undergone; how often and how freely they have spent their best Blood in defence of our Holy Religion and Sacred Liberties; how gloriously they have retriev'd the Nation's Honour, sunk, before the Revolution, as low as possible; and that we must, under God and the Queen, still depend on 'em for being a People and a Nation: I say, when I consider this, I am strangely surpriz'd and confounded to see how they are treated.

I am told indeed, that 'tis not to be wonder'd at, if those who preach up the submitting our very Lives to the arbitrary Disposal

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of a single Person, provided he has an Hereditary Right, shou'd hate Men who fight for Liberty, for Property, for a Government built on the Lawfulness of resisting Tyranny, and for a legal Protestant Succession in opposition to Hereditary Right. But this sure can't affect the Representers, who, no where among the pernicious Errors that have prevail'd, mention those Opinions that are inconsistent with Passive-Obedience, or the Power of Parliaments in disposing of the Succession. Let that be as it will, none except they are Enemies to the Cause the Army is engag'd in, will be displeas'd with having Justice done 'em.

As to the common Soldiers, considering all the loose, idle and debauch'd Fellows that are from time to time pick'd out for Recruits, one shou'd think such a Drain wou'd rather contribute to the reforming than corrupting the Morals of the Nation. And must do this piece of Justice to the common Soldiers, as to say, that when the late Army was disbanded, and thereby great numbers of bold Fellows reduc'd to the last straits, even then there was less Stealing, House-breaking and Robbing than in any time of *Charles II's* Reign.

But as to the Gentlemen bred in the Army, if you compare 'em with those bred in the University, you will find none of that Awkwardness, Stiffness, Pedantry and wrangling Temper, for which those educated in the other are so remarkable: In one you meet not only with Good Manners, Breeding and polite Conversation, but with that good Sense and useful Knowledg which is necessary to all who design to make a figure in the World; whereas in

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the other there's nothing so conceited, proud, ignorant, silly and stupid, as a pack of School-boys, who, without going into the World, have there grown old together.

The Army drawing from all Parts of Europe Men of the best Quality, Figure and Parts, who, in order to advance themselves in the most honourable Profession, are oblig'd to have the greatest regard to their Behaviour, Conduct and Reputation; consequently whatever is worth the notice of a Gentleman, is better and easier learnt there among Men, who are fir'd with a noble Emulation to outdo one another in every thing that's brave, than in any place besides.

'Tis to be suppos'd that the inferiour Clergy place none in the Prolocutor's Chair, but the best and most religious among 'em; and yet I believe the Representers can't shew when a Man was prefer'd in the Army, who was guilty of such profane Expressions as are to be found in Dr. *Binck's* Sermon before the Lower House of Convocation: And yet this Reverend Divine, notwithstanding the Censure pass'd on his Sermon in the House of Lords, had the Honour not long after to be prefer'd to that Chair. And I think I may venture to say, that there is not only less of those mean Vices, of shuffling, tricking, prevaricating, misrepresenting, railing, calumniating and lying, but more of Humanity, Charity, Moderation and Christian Temper, to be found among Men that belong to the *Sword* than to the *Gown*. And I do not doubt but they will shew it, in forgiving the Representers, tho they have bestow'd on 'em the most infamous Character that can be given to Men.

The Quakers one wou'd think were of all Men the least liable to be charg'd with debauching the Nation, or of having such Principles as produce wicked Practices; but the Representatives make 'em to be the vilest People imaginable, and say, 'Nor ought we, among
' the several Instances of Infidelity, and of
' the Approaches made towards it, to omit
' the mention of those damnable Errors which
' have been embrac'd and propagated by the
' Sect of Quakers; who, in several of their Pag. 8
' Treatises, in the Catechisms and Primmers,
' have taught the Rudiments of the Christian
' Faith in such a manner, as to make it seem
' to be little more than a complicated System
' of Deism and Enthusiasm: from the wicked
' Principles thus disseminated, as wicked Practices have follow'd.--- The Instances of a
' profane and dissolute Behaviour have of late
' years been very numerous and very scandalous.'

What can shew a more manifest Design of breaking in on the sacred Act of Toleration, or be a greater Reflection on the Legislators who pass'd that Act, or on our most Gracious Queen, who constantly, in all her Speeches from the Throne, declares she will inviolably maintain it? which, according to these Gentlemen, is maintaining damnable Errors, little more than a complicated System of Deism and Enthusiasm, wicked Principles from which wicked Practices have follow'd, and is one occasion that the Instances of a profane and dissolute Behaviour have of late years been very numerous and very scandalous.

The Commons, in their Address to the Queen, being inspir'd with a true Christian Spirit, and with a noble and Lay-Charity,

say, without any exception to the Quakers, As we are Fellow-Christians and Fellow-Subjects with those Protestant Dissenters, who are so unhappy as to entertain Scruples against conforming with our Church, we are desirous and determin'd to let 'em enjoy that Indulgence which the Law has allow'd 'em. And if the Ecclesiasticks had, as they pretend, so great a hand in Elections, it shews 'tis impossible to pick out any number of Laymen who are so uncharitable as these Representatives.

Since the Queen and Parliament are so highly, tho indirectly reflected on for continuing the Toleration to the Quakers, I shall beg leave to observe, that there has been a long time a Design carry'd on by High-Church Priests against the Toleration, and they rais'd their Batteries chiefly against that part of it which gives Liberty to the Quakers; and *Lestley*, and such sort of Men, have been the freer in misrepresenting their Opinions, because they think those they design to impose on will not give themselves the trouble to read what the Quakers say for themselves; who not only disown those Opinions they are charg'd with, but shew that those Writers their Adversaries quote had no such meaning. But I think till now none ever charg'd 'em with wicked Practices, and join'd 'em with Atheists, Deists, Scepticks, in contributing to promote Licentiousness.

One wou'd be apt to think some Men had no small Antipathy to the Quakers, or rather to the Toleration, thus to misrepresent so sober, so industrious a People; to whom the Publick ought to give all Protection, since they are doubly Benefactors to it, not only in maintaining their Poor, but in maintaining

'em so usefully in Work and Labour, there not being a Beggar or idle Person among 'em: Nor do they confine their Charity to their own Sect, but readily embrace all Opportunities of doing good to others.

What can more shew an Aversion to a dissolute Behaviour, than that no one Instance can be produc'd, out of so great a Body of Men, where Man and Wife, tho under no legal Restraints, ever were divorc'd or separated? And when they proceed to a second Marriage, they religiously take care that a proportionable share of their Substance be set apart for the Children of the first Marriage, and in all other things their Oeconomy is sutable: and were some, who unjustly reflect on 'em, half so conscientious, honest and fair in all their Dealings, I shou'd have had no occasion to make this Apology for 'em,

Nor wou'd it be thought a Crime in these harmless People, *that they take care of the Interest of their Sect, and spread their distinguishing Tenets;* since the Representers can't deny that this, as long as they continue Quakers, is their Duty: and when one considers that they have born Persecution with so great Constancy and Firmness of Mind, as if they were incapable of fear, he can't but be mov'd with a just Indignation to see how some labour to deprive these innocent people of the benefit of the Toleration; tho they can't but be sensible that that can have no other Effect than to make 'em, who like the first Christians were nurs'd in and by Persecution, to increase and multiply.

Another Argument by which the Representers attack the Toleration, is, 'That the Indulgence granted to Men, of worshipping God in their own way, incited some publickly and

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‘ with warmth to espouse those Religious Opinions, which others thought themselves bound with equal warmth to oppose. These Contentions, in Matters of a civil and sacred nature, bred in the Minds of Men, not well grounded in true Principles, great Perplexities and Doubts, and gave an Opportunity to those, who sat in the Seat of the Scornful, to promote the Interest of Scepticism and Infidelity, by making sport with our Divisions.’

It’s very fairly done of the Representers to tell the World the reason of their Quarrel to the Toleration, as well as to the Liberty of the Press, lest they breed in the People great Doubts and Perplexities of what the establish’d Priests tell ’em either in sacred or civil Matters. If this be not requiring a blind implicate Faith, in order to take away all doubting, I know not what is so; and if Divisions are to be discourag’d, I see no reason why we shou’d be angry with those who make sport with ’em, since we are not like to be fond of what is turn’d into Jest and Ridicule: and I can as little perceive, how shewing the Ridiculousness of our Divisions shou’d promote the Interest of Scepticism and Infidelity, tho the managing of disputes *more Theologorum*, after the manner that Divines generally do, may not a little contribute to it.

17. The Representers saying, ‘ Our Ecclesiastical and Civil Constitution must needs undergo Reproach, as if we wanted Laws to punish such Enormities, or Zeal to turn the Edg of those Laws on daring Offenders, ’ is a reflection on those who have the making and executing of the Laws: and they who have the Administration of Justice can’t expect better quarter than the Legislators, and there-

fore ought not to be surpriz'd when they find themselves charg'd with contributing their share towards the deluge of Impiety and Licentiousness which has overspread the Kingdom, as I humbly suppose they are in these words: 'Other Causes have concur'd, as the Pag. 16
' want of vigorous execution of those Laws;
' Proclamations, and Injunctions which were
' piously fram'd, and the faint and ineffectual
' Prosecution of some notorious Offenders; by
' which means what was design'd to curb and
' restrain their Insolence, tended rather to
' heighten and nourish it.'

This looks like charging all those, who on behalf of the Crown are bound to prosecute notorious Offenders, with betraying their Trust; nay that they and the Judges conspir'd together to prevent the vigorous execution of Laws piously fram'd.

If the Publisher of this Paper was prosecuted for a Libel on the Church and Kingdom, tho he shou'd not be found guilty, yet he wou'd be sensible that the Charge of the Prosecution would be too great to heighten and nourish the Insolence of a notorious Offender, and therefore wou'd not agree with the Representers in their flourish about ineffectual Prosecutions: tho had some Ecclesiasticks but power enough, we shou'd have as little reason to complain of faint and ineffectual Prosecutions, as they had in *Charles I's* Reign, when Bishop *Laud* had the chief management of Affairs.

The Representers suppose that *the bad were* Pag. 9
never worse, and that there is almost an infinite number of 'em, who, like a Deluge, overflow the Kingdom; and that the wicked Practices of these profligate Men are owing to their wicked Principles; and that it is since the Toleration
and

(30)
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' Proclamations, and Injunctions which were
' piously fram'd, and the faint and ineffectual
' Prosecution of some notorious Offenders; by
' which means what was design'd to curb and
' restrain their Insolence, tended rather to
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The Representers suppose that *the bad were* Pag. 2
never worse, and that there is almost an infinite number of 'em, who, like a Deluge, overflow the Kingdom; and that the wicked Practices of these profligate Men are owing to their wicked Principles; and that it is since the Toleration
and

and the Liberty of the Press, that they propagate their pernicious Principles, such as *tend to undermine the Foundations of Christianity, and infect the People with Atheism, Deism, Heresy, and every pernicious and destructive Error*: which, in the opinion of High-Church, takes in all the tolerated Dissenters as well as others; since they suppose all that separate from the Church as by Law establish'd are guilty of the damnable Sin of Schism, and consequently of a very pernicious and destructive Error. And the Representers likewise say, *' That Infidelity hath taken deep root, and being cultivated with care, hath spread its Branches wide, and shot up to an amazing height, and brought forth Fruits in great abundance; and that there's not only a religious Assembly of blasphemous Unitarians, and weekly Sermons preach'd in defence of their Principles, but a multitude of their wicked Books publish'd for some Years.'*

This, with a great deal more, to lay a load on all who differ from the Church, tends to make Men conclude that a prodigious number of Atheists, Deists, Infidels, Unitarians, Quakers, and all other Dissenters, were the Malefactors, who have been arraign'd and condemn'd in all the Courts of Justice since the Revolution; but few or no stanch Churchmen, whom neither the Liberty of the Press, nor the Toleration have infected; especially since the Representers say, *that the good Christians were never better.* But if any will give himself the trouble to look into the Proceedings of the Courts of Justice, which is the best way to judg of the State of the Nation as to Immorality, he will not find one Atheist, Deist, Sceptick, Unitarian, Quaker, or scarce any Dissenting Protestant punish'd, much less condemn'd

demn'd to die since the Revolution; but when the condemn'd Persons come to the Gallows, he will find 'em all Churchmen: nay, I might add high Churchmen, since they are such Men as appear'd, upon all occasions, in the Interest of the High-Church-Priests and Enemies to the Toleration, and hearty Damners and Cursers of all Dissenters; and when I say such Churchmen, I do not exclude Papists and Jacobites, who are High-Church with a vengeance: And I believe more of the last have suffer'd than all the Dissenters together; and 'tis no wonder, since they have High-Church-Priests to absolve 'em at the Gallows, even for Rebellion.

A certain Jailor, when there was so great a noise about the Danger of the Church, said, he always was of opinion that the Church was in danger, and that he was more and more confirm'd in it by consulting with his Brother-Jailors, who inform'd him of what they were well acquainted with, That all the People who were executed or transported were in a manner Churchmen, and that he did not know what in time the consequence of this might be.

As this Man reason'd like a Jailor, in things within his knowledg, so 'tis to be noted, that by Churchmen he meant High-Churchmen; the ordinary People not distinguishing between Low-Churchmen and Dissenters.

If one has a mind to enquire further into the state of the Nation, with relation to its Morals, will he not find that the beggarly, idle, and loose People of both Sexes are, generally speaking, all High-Church, and zealous *Sacheverellians*? Are not almost all your Butchers, Ale-housekeepers, Innkeepers and their Servants, the Bailiffs and their Followers, High-Churchmen?

Look among your Proctors and Attorneys, are they not all, except a very few who are an Honour to their Profession, of High-Church? But if one goes higher, and looks among your debauch'd Gentlemen and drunken Squires, will he not find it the same thing?

If any question the Truth of this, let him examine who they were that, to the Dissolution of all Order and Government, were guilty of the late Disorders, Riots, and Tumults; and who set the Nation, to the hazard of Church and State, in such a ferment; or who they are who make use of the sacred Name of Church and Religion as a pretence to oppress their quiet and peaceable Neighbours, and are unwilling that common Justice should be done to a Man who differs from 'em in Religion.

In a word; since a Man's Faith is to be judg'd by his Works, as the unerring Word of God declares, nothing reflects more on the National Church than to suppose an infinite number of Atheists, Deists, Scepticks, Hereticks, among whom there is far less Wickedness and Immorality to be found, than among great Numbers of the Establish'd Church. For *the Tree is known by its Fruit*, and they can never be good Trees which bring forth bad Fruit, nor those bad Trees which bring forth good Fruit, by whatever names they may be call'd by uncharitable Priests: on whom nothing can be a greater Reflection, than that most of their own Party, in a Case of Consequence, wou'd rather chuse to rely on the Honesty of such upon whom they bestow these hard Names, than on their own, notwithstanding their boasted Orthodoxy.

Having consider'd the Heads on which the Representers pretend to prove that the Nation

of late years, that is since the Revolution, is grown more licentious, dissolute, immoral, wicked and profligate than it was in the times preceding it; I hope I have not only taken off that unspeakable Grief they lay under on that account, but by shewing that the Nation is much better than it was formerly, giv'n 'em unspeakable Joy. But if any Scruples shou'd still remain, I shall produce an Authority they will own to be indisputable; for they themselves, in comparing these Times with the former, give these manifestly the Advantage, in affirming,

‘ That Divine Service and Sacraments have
‘ of *late* been oftner celebrated, and better frequented than *formerly*; the catechizing of
‘ Youth hath been more generally practis’d,
‘ and with greater success; vast Sums have
‘ been furnish’d by private Contributions to
‘ sustain the Charge of educating poor Children in a pious and useful manner, and many
‘ other new and noble Institutions of Charity
‘ have been set on foot: Societies have been
‘ form’d and Funds of Charity rais’d for the
‘ Propagation of the holy Faith, for the pious
‘ Education of poor Children, and for the Increase of Christian Knowledg, by plain and
‘ useful Discourses, distributed among the
‘ meaner sort in great variety and abundance.
‘ Authority has often interpos’d for the countenancing these excellent Designs.’

Who can imagine that in *Charles II*’s Reign, private Men wou’d have had the countenance of Royal Authority in forming a Society for the Reformation of Manners; or that most of the Pulpits of the Nation wou’d not have rail’d against it as a Puritanical Design, dangerous both to Church and State? Or if any had pre-

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sum'd to attempt such a thing in *Charles I's* Reign, who can doubt but that according to the mercy of those times, he had been unmeasurably fin'd, pillor'd, his Ears crop'd, and he imprison'd during life? This can't be doubted, since Bishop *Wren*, *Laud's* chief Favourite, made it one Article of his Visitation, *that the Churchwardens shou'd, in every Parish of his Diocess, enquire whether any Persons presum'd to talk of Religion at their Tables, and in their Families.*

I am glad to see these Representers come into this pious Design, since, if Report is to be credited, not a few of 'em have rail'd against it as a pernicious Design.

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What reason can we have to apprehend the Increase of Infidelity, when these Representers assure us, *That the vain Pleas of the several Advocates have been particularly consider'd and refuted*; and the Bishops (if that Representation which is publish'd under their Names be theirs) add, *to the Silencing, if not Conviction, of the principal of 'em?* And they add, ' That a Lecture was founded not many years since, in defence of the Christian Religion, against all its Adversaries; and that many excellent and useful Sermons have been preach'd and publish'd on that occasion; and that Parochial Libraries have been set up for the use of Ministers in the Country, that they might be the better provided for the Instruction of those committed to their charge.'

There's another thing which I wonder how both Representations came to omit, which is, that the late low Price of Sermons has tempted thousands to buy 'em, who wou'd never have perus'd 'em had they continu'd at the old price of Six Pence; and consequently they must now be more knowing in all that the reading and

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studying of Sermons can instruct 'em in.

It's making a Satyr on the conduct of the Clergy, to suppose, that they at present, when they have all those Advantages which former times wanted, are not able to defend Christianity, but suffer it daily to lose ground, and therefore must have recourse to Force and Ignorance; or, in other words, to Persecution and a Restraint of the Press; tho at this time there's no Toleration of Infidelity, or Liberty to print in behalf of it.

In the Representation, publish'd in the name of the Upper House of Convocation, we find this Paragraph: ' We hope that special Care Pag. 7.
' will be taken of the Education of young
' People at the Universities, by providing
' that Tutors make it their Business to teach
' their Pupils the Principles of the Christian
' Religion in the Course of their other Studies, and endeavour to make 'em serious in
' it, with a particular Eye to such as are design'd to Holy Orders.'

If any are in danger of falling into Infidelity, they are not your illiterate People, but Men of University-Education; and therefore one wou'd be apt to think, that the Compilers of this Representation did not believe that part of it which relates to the Growth of Infidelity, since they can't but be sensible how little Tutors, generally speaking, make it their Business to instruct their Pupils in the Principles of Christianity: otherwise they cou'd never have omitted this Paragraph relating to the Universities; especially since we do not find any among the Dissenters to be charg'd with Infidelity: If there are any Infidels, they have been bless'd with a University-Education.

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Whoever reflects on the pannick fear which seiz'd the Body of the People on account of the Danger of the Church, tho no mortal cou'd assign the least reason for it; nay tho the Clergy, who have so great an Influence over 'em, had declared the Church to be out of Danger; and likewise considers that the Wisdom of the Nation has, notwithstanding the difficulty of finding new Funds to carry on a War, of whose end we have no great Prospect, and the heavy Burdens the People unavoidably lie under, thought fit to give a Fund for the building fifty Churches: I say, whoever considers this, will not agree with the Representers in affirming, *That a Spirit of Indifference and Neutrality in Religion hath so far prevail'd, as to become the distinguishing Character of the Age we live in.*

Tho 'tis plain, even by what these Representers own, that the Nation, since the Revolution, is better than before; yet I think they have omitted one grand Reason why, since that time, a Spirit of Reformation has so much prevail'd, and that is the *Toleration*, without which Men cou'd not exercise that great Duty of Morality, of doing as they wou'd be done unto.

But because the Toleration has been reflected on in more places than one in this Representation, I beg leave to say, That if Men can honour God no other way but by worshipping him after that manner they think agreeable to his Will, nor dishonour him more than by offering him a contrary Worship; the not tolerating Men in doing the first, and forcing 'em to do the last, is the greatest Sin that can be against the Honour of God. And nothing certainly can be more against the Good of Man-

Mankind, than leaving them, if they chance to differ from the National Worship, no other Choice than being under a constant Course of Persecution in this Life, or of being eternally miserable in the Life to come; and consequently this must be comprehensive of all Sins whatever, as being destructive of the two grand Laws (of which all others are but Branches) the Honour of God, and the Good of Man.

Nor can any be sure to avoid this miserable State, but by taking up his Religion on Trust, without daring to examine into it; and a Religion taken up on course can have but little influence on Mens Lives and Actions: nor will the luckiness of the Accident, if Men shou'd chance to light on Truth, make amends for want of that necessary Duty of impartial Examination; which, since God can't demand Impossibilities, is sufficient to make any Error whatever innocent.

Whoever considers that, in the Reigns before the Revolution, vast Numbers were not only undone, but perish'd most miserably, either by being starv'd, or else by the Diseases they got when croud'd in noisom Jails, and that more were forc'd to act against their Consciences, can't think he can sufficiently praise God for the great Blessing of the Revolution, which put an end to the greatest Wickedness human Nature is capable of, (*viz.* of Protestants, contrary to their profess'd Principles, persecuting Protestants) without which, considering the Pressure of the War; they must long before now have become a Prey to those, who have no other Aim than to extirpate, without distinction, all Protestants of what Denomination soever.

As to the remaining part of the Representation, which relates to irreligious Opinions, I must beg the Reader's Pardon if I defer the examining of it to another Paper, and shall conclude this with flattering my self, That I have not only wip'd off all the Reproaches which have been so plentifully thrown on this Church and Kingdom, with relation to the pretended late excessive Growth of impious, profane, wicked and immoral Practices; but have likewise shewn that the Nation (for which we can't enough praise the Divine Goodness) is wonderfully amended and reform'd since the Revolution, even in those Instances which, upon the strictest Search, have been cull'd out to prove, that a *Deluge of Impiety and Licentiousness* has of late overspread the Face of this Church and Kingdom.

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Pag. 3. against 5th lin. put pag. 4.
against 12th lin. put pag. 17.

P. 7. against l. 32. put pag. 4.

P. 10. against lin. 23. put pag. 3.

P. 11. against lin. 16. put pag. 9.

P. 16. marg. for *Ibid.* r. *Hist. of England.*

P. 23. against lin. 26. put pag. 9.

P. 24. in marg. after *Treatises*, add pag. 93.

P. 25. against lin. 13. put pag. 9.

P. 26. against lin. 20. put pag. 15.